

8

PROCEEDINGS

OF

A MEETING OF THE FRIENDS

OF

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

HELD IN THE

CITY OF BALTIMORE,

ON THE

SEVENTEENTH OF OCTOBER, 1827.



BALTIMORE:

PRINTED BY B. EDES, CORNER OF CALVERT AND MARKET-STREETS:

1828.

CIRCULAR

TO THE

FRIENDS OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

SIR,

At a meeting of the friends of African Colonization, held in this city on the 17th October, 1827, the following Resolutions, Address and Constitution, were unanimously adopted.

NICHOLAS BRICE, *Chairman.*

CHARLES C. HARPER, *Secretary.*

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That it is expedient to revive the Maryland Colonization Society, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society.

Resolved, That there be published an address to the friends of African Colonization, setting forth the history, prospects and advantages of the scheme.

Resolved, That the following Constitution be adopted.

Resolved, That the following gentlemen be officers of the Maryland Colonization Society.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published, and signed by the Chairman and Secretary; and that a copy of them be sent to each of the officers, and such other persons as the Chairman may think proper.

ADDRESS

TO THE

FRIENDS OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

THE idea of colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of colour, in some place remote from this country, originated in the Virginia legislature, twenty-five or thirty years ago; and was strongly advocated by Mr. Monroe, then Governor of the State, and Mr. Jefferson, President of the United States. In 1816, that legislature passed a formal resolution, soliciting the aid of the general government, in procuring a proper site for a colony of free blacks, and such as might, in the course of time, be emancipated by their masters. The example was quickly followed by the legislatures of Maryland, Tennessee and Georgia. Several states have recently gone further.

Towards the close of 1816, there was formed at Washington, a society which was called the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY; of which Judge Washington of the Supreme Court was chosen President. From the first suggestion of the plan, there had been a diversity of opinion among its friends; as to what part of the world would be the most eligible situation. Mr. Jefferson proposed to send them to Sierra Leone, an English colony on the African coast, with the consent of the company to which it belonged; or, if that should not be practicable, to procure them homes in some of the Portuguese settlements in South America. Both attempts having proved unsuccessful, attention was turned to another quarter; and the Society, immediately after its organization, determined to send agents to explore the western coast of Africa and select the most suitable position.

In December, 1821, after various unsuccessful efforts in the preceding years at other points, a territory was purchased from the natives of Cape Mesurado, on the western coast, by Dr. Ayres, the Society's Agent; and on the 28th of April, 1822, the American flag first waved, with innocent designs, on the shores of injured Africa.

The colony, thus founded, received the name of LIBERIA; and its principal town, which has already become a large village,

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that of MONROVIA, in honor of one of the most powerful promoters of the scheme, during whose administration it was established.

The object of the Society, to establish there a colony of free blacks from the United States, and to provide all such as might wish to emigrate, with an asylum whither they and their children might go and enjoy real liberty, and all the immunities, privileges and attributes of freemen, was immediately approved and embraced by a great number of our most distinguished citizens; and more emigrants were found than could be sent.

At first, a doubt was suggested of the practicability of such a settlement; but the experiment has been successful. In every respect, that part of Africa which has been selected, is as capable of being covered with great nations, as were the western and south-western members of this confederacy. It enjoys a fertility not inferior to theirs, and affords a greater variety of valuable products. Rice is raised by the natives in the utmost abundance; coffee of an excellent quality; the finest cotton; the sugar cane and indigo grow spontaneously; the forests are full of dye woods; oranges, pine apples, bananas, and the other tropical fruits, belong to the country; and sweet potatoes, cassada, yams and many indigenous and European vegetables, are cultivated with success. The climate too, though essentially different, is at least as salubrious. The mortality that prevailed among the first emigrants to Liberia, was owing altogether to other causes. They arrived during the worst season of the year, and remained exposed to all its inclemencies, without shelter; and the matter of surprise should be, that any one of them escaped destruction. A much worse result attended the early attempts to settle America. In Virginia, and even as far north as Plymouth in New England, the settlers were repeatedly swept away by hostility and malignant diseases; and the idea of colonizing America, pronounced at once visionary and impracticable, was for a considerable time abandoned, and apparently forgotten. It is therefore neither surprising nor discouraging, that similar misfortunes should have followed the first attempts to settle Africa. They are incident to all such undertakings, in every quarter of the globe; and were to be expected particularly in a colony, founded by private contributions, left on a distant shore in an unprotected state, and conspired against by unusual occurrences. In the moment of her greatest exhaustion, the natives, jealous of her presence and stimulated by atrocious slaves, fell upon Liberia in numbers vastly superior to her own. But the multitude of the deluded savages served only to increase their slaughter. They could not stand before the single howitzer and thirty muskets of the

colonists; but fled in every direction of the woods, abandoned their assaults, and resumed their desultory and harmless warfare, which they were soon glad to exchange for peace. Since that lesson, they have attempted and displayed no more hostility; and their unaccustomed league has dissolved again into numerous and conflicting tribes.

The colony now contains, in the sixth year of its existence, one thousand two hundred inhabitants, who live in comfortable houses, and cultivate with profit the pursuits of commerce, and the rich fields that the society bestow gratuitously on all who emigrate. Upwards of five hundred have been sent thither this year. Every adult receives on his arrival in the colony, a building lot in one of the settlements, with five acres of plantation land; and, if he be married, three acres for his wife, and one for each of his children; provided that no single family shall receive in all more than ten acres. Comfortable provision is made for minors also, and single women. To secure a fee simple in this land, every occupant is required to build within two years, a comfortable house, and clear and put under cultivation two acres. The mechanic is only expected to erect a substantial house on his town lot. The price of land is so low, that any one may, by industry and economy, find the means of enlarging his plantation, if he desire it. Emigrants, immediately on their arrival, are admitted into buildings erected for their temporary accommodation, and derive their support from the public stores, until able to maintain themselves. The colonists are self-governed; they elect their own officers of justice, of the militia, and of civil duties; their institutions are, in fine, a miniature of those of this republic. The territory has been much increased both in size and value; not by conquest, but the peaceful means of purchase. It now extends one hundred and fifty miles along the coast, and indefinitely into the interior, embracing within its limits several small settlements, which have sprung like sub-colonies from the principal one. Monrovia, the capital, built on the high and salubrious promontory of Montserado, is defended by a militia of more than ninety men well armed, and a strong fort of masonry, amply provided with cannon and ammunition. All the children, of whom there are two hundred and twenty-seven, attend school. The schools are free, and on the Lancastrian system. There are several places of public worship. A reading room and library of twelve hundred volumes diffuse instruction throughout the little community, which is moral and even religious in its character. The industry of the people is displayed in the thriving aspect of every thing around them, and in their rapidly accumulating wealth. Many individuals have, in the course of five years, acquired each a property of from four to ten thousand dollars.

The prosperous condition of the colony is exemplified by the fact, that from the 1st of January to the 1st of June, 1826, there were exported to New England, Great Britain, Sierra Leone, France, the West Indies, Norfolk and Baltimore, dye woods, gold dust, hides and ivory, to the amount of \$43,980. The profit on this to the exporters will appear, by calculating the difference between the African market and those of Europe and America, to have been about \$30,786. The price of labour is two dollars a day for mechanics, and from seventy-five-cents to one dollar and twenty-five cents for common labourers.

Thus has the practicability of erecting a flourishing colony of free blacks on the coast of Africa, been amply demonstrated.*

The natives have learned to admire what at first they only suspected and feared. In its institutions they see the pillar of its strength and prosperity, and would imitate the christian charity and justice, which its inhabitants exercise towards them in all their dealings. Docile and tractable in their nature, rather uncivilized than savages, and having none of the ferocity and stubbornness of the North American Indian, they are anxious their posterity should partake in the blessings which they behold; and seventy children, sent by their parents for that purpose, are now distributed among the families in the colony, to be brought up, as their own offspring, in the language and arts of civilized life, and the christian religion. The greatest favour, in his own estimation, that a native can receive, is to obtain his child a situation, on those terms, in the colony; and there are many more applications than can, for want of room, be gratified. A great deal of the labour on the fields and houses, and in lading and unlading vessels, is performed of their own accord, at stipulated prices, by natives; who being always in the presence of cultivated man, will sooner or later copy his habits and manners. Thus has Liberia begun to realize the anticipated effect of shedding the light of civilization and the gospel on benighted Africa, and compensate her for the torments we have inflicted.

We shall not here detail the horrors of the slave trade; for there is no human being, in this country, that has not heard them. In the earliest dawn of our national history, they were the subject of debate and universal indignation. As soon as practicable, the market of this country was closed against them;

*This sketch of the history of the colony, we have drawn for the benefit of those whose attention has not hitherto been called to it, from the Annual Reports of the Society; from the African Repository, a monthly periodical of thirty pages, published at Washington under the direction of the managers; from various pamphlets and papers on the subject; and from an able article on African Colonization, in the 17th number of the North American Review.

the strictest laws were passed for the punishment of our citizens engaged in them; and we took the lead in effectual measures for their total abolition. But our measures have been more energetic on paper than in reality. It is only by settlements along the coast, at the most important points, that the nefarious commerce can be arrested; and without their assistance, no squadron, however powerful, will be competent to its suppression. The thousand little rivers, creeks and bays, that indent the shores of Africa, elude the search of the lawful mariner or refuse him admission in their shallow waters, while they afford lurking places for those concerned in the traffic, and well acquainted, from their habits, with the geography of the country. If any particular haunt, mart or factory be discovered and broken up, they send word into the interior, that slaves must be brought to some less frequented and unsuspected part of the coast. Thither they steal to receive them; and, while taking in their living cargo of human merchandise, lie effectually concealed. The only way to obviate this evasion, is to found colonies and establishments along the coast, in such situations as to command the accessible markets, and sustain each other in attacks and defence. They would sometimes be compelled to resort to force; as was recently the case with Liberia, when she destroyed a slave factory that had been opened within her boundaries, and set the wretched captives free. But their most powerful effects would be produced by gentle means: by teaching the natives milder and more christian modes of commerce; by recalling them to a sense of the criminal nature of the one they practice; by forming alliances of trade and friendship with the nations of the interior; and by making the slave trade unprofitable from a refusal to engage in it, and alluring the people to other commerce with the products of European skill and science. There are empires in the interior, that have attained a high degree of comparative civilization. One of them is within two hundred miles of Liberia. Of the willingness of the native sovereigns to establish such an intercourse, we have abundant evidence in the journal of Denham and Clapperton's expedition, and from other sources. It is a fortunate circumstance, that in the vicinity of Liberia the native tribes are feeble, and unable to offer effectual resistance. Every where they are naturally mild and hospitable, cheerful, peaceable and timid, docile and anxious to be instructed; and although altered by the wars and predatory inroads and private feuds and ruthless violence, which the slave trade occasions to obtain its victims, they are far from irreclaimable. To reason with them, as yet, on the justice and horrid features of the custom, would be useless, for "they know not what they do:" to compel them to desist, would be impossible, as long as there

were any purchasers: to destroy the demand from the Atlantic sea board and its islands, the attempt has proved abortive hitherto, and must always be extremely difficult and expensive: and even to crush it, in that direction, were almost fruitless, for it would still exist in the interior, and, with aggravated misery, on the Eastern and Mediterranean coasts. The only effectual remedy for the slave trade, is to establish civilized and powerful colonies on the western and south-west coasts, to serve as markets, where the natives may sell every thing but slaves, and procure in exchange every article they desire. Not until then will they quit their present for more humane and industrious pursuits. Our cruizers can co-operate most usefully in the work, by obstructing the trade, and making it so dangerous, uncertain and expensive, as to banish slavers, and drive the natives into the more lawful and lucrative commerce offered them. By the presence and exertions of the colony, the slave trade has already ceased to exist along a coast of one hundred and fifty miles; and, at every extension of such settlements, it must still further diminish.

The many other advantages of colonization in Africa, have also been realized, in a greater degree than the most sanguine ever expected in so short a time. The condition of the free blacks, who have emigrated, has been improved essentially by transferring them, with their own consent, from this country, where they can never be but nominally free, to another where they are really so. Their encouraging letters have produced a salutary excitement among the free blacks that remain; and there are daily more applicants for a passage, than can be accommodated. Most of them seem to look to the shores of Africa, as the destined home of themselves or their children, the promised land of the coloured race. The eloquent address from the citizens of Liberia will appeal more powerfully to their sense and feelings, than any thing that we could say.

The rigours of slavery too have been abated, by opening a door to voluntary manumission, through which numbers begin to pour already. Of the five hundred who have gone this year to Liberia, eighty-five were manumitted for that express purpose. Although we would not impede unconditional emancipation by those who are disposed to confer it, yet, in our opinion, there can be no manumission, without removal, that can benefit slave or master. Here are the means of removal offered. Many owners have taken advantage of them. In the natural course of things, others, as yet deterred by the present inevitable evils of emancipation, will follow their example. It is by this means that the American Colonization Society hope to relieve their country from the baneful institution of slavery, our burthen and dishonour. Themselves, for the most part, slave-holders,

those are the only means, they think, that can be employed, consistently with their own security, the rights of their fellow-citizens, the permanent happiness of the blacks, and the tranquillity of the state. By voluntary emancipation, voluntary emigration, voluntary removal, which must, in their nature, be gradual, they believe all their objects can be effected. The experiment has more than authorized their confidence, and justified their persevering.

In fine, the advantage to ourselves will be immense. As this mass of men, foreign to us though among us, shall yield to the elastic pressure of a wholesome population, of our own colour, the value of compulsory labour will gradually decline, and a better be substituted; property will be enhanced; and the number of slaves diminished; until the last fibre of that institution, entailed upon us without our fault, but removed by our efforts, can be eradicated by purchase, and public opinion for ever prevail against the crying evil. If slavery be indeed an evil, as no one will deny, such a consummation is to be desired. The annual increase of slaves in Maryland, from 1810 to 1820, appears by the census to have been only one hundred and sixty-nine. The rest of the actual increase, which must have amounted to at least two thousand five hundred a year, was removed by the operation of the internal slave trade to the south and west, the escape of the slave, or his manumission. As these causes have certainly augmented since 1820, it is highly probable that at the census of 1830 there will be found to have been not even that small increase, but a positive reduction in the mass itself. Among the *free* blacks there was, between 1810 and 1820, an annual diminution. Misery carries many of them prematurely to the grave, and many others remove to the neighbouring states. We have therefore only to encourage and accelerate natural causes, to relieve Maryland, within a reasonable time, of her whole coloured population.

From a colony so situated and so connected with us, we may reasonably expect a great accession to our commerce and a boundless market for our products. The blessings of free institutions, like our own, will be indefinitely extended; a coloured America will rise on the shores of Africa; and this will be the sole instance of a colony, founded to be independent when of age, and not for the benefit of the mother country alone, but for that of the human race.

Such is the scheme of African colonization. To the statesman it offers the only hope of removing from our country the deadliest of her ills; to the christian and philosopher, the establishment of civilization and true religion, in a land hitherto a prey to ignorance and crime; to the philanthropist and all, the

destruction of the most atrocious and abominable traffic, that ever disgraced human nature or desolated the world.

Nor have the American people been insensible to the great and various merits of the undertaking. Eight Auxiliary State Societies, with numerous subordinate associations, have been established for its support. The legislatures of nine states have proclaimed it entitled to national patronage. Virginia has aided it from her public treasury, Maryland has appropriated one thousand dollars annually, and a report recommending a similar assistance has been made by a committee in the Ohio Legislature.

Since the recent advices from Liberia, confirming our brightest hopes, nothing further remains for the advocates of the scheme, but to renew and combine their efforts, to give it full development, and that extension without which it were only a curious but useless experiment. What is, therefore, most to be desired and sought at present, is to obtain the assistance of the numerous friends of the scheme, in every part of the union, in so concentrated and regular a form, as to afford, without taxing too far the charity of individuals, a constant and ample fund for the accomplishment of our growing purposes.

The measures hitherto adopted with that view, have failed of an adequate effect; and although there has been undoubtedly a vast increase in the number of our friends, the resources of the society, if they have not actually diminished, are by no means commensurate with its objects, and always so uncertain as to avail but little. They amount to about 12,000 or 15,000 dollars a year; derived from the voluntary contributions of the charitable, and from small appropriations by legislative bodies. In the first gush of approbation, state colonization societies, with numerous branches, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society at Washington, were very generally formed, and contributed powerfully, by the reputation and liberality of their members, to sustain the expenses of the undertaking. But they have since been suffered to go gradually to ruins, notwithstanding the continually augmenting number of persons favourable to the design. The reasons of this decay are found in their defective conformation. Laborious or troublesome duties were imposed upon gentlemen, whose names alone ought to have been sufficient, and whose age or occupations prevented them from taking an active part; and the rate of contributions, too, was such as the enthusiasm of the moment suggested, and not such as prudence would have recommended.

These defects we have endeavoured to remedy, by selecting the higher officers, as heretofore, from among gentlemen of advanced age, or distinguished abilities, or conspicuous for past or present services to our country or the cause; and entrusting

to younger men, all offices to which active duties are attached. The rate of subscription also has been reduced to *one dollar annually*, never to be paid in advance, nor ever to be increased.

The expediency of this plan of revenue is deduced from the reflection, that there are thousands who will cheerfully give *one dollar* every year, who would not, on any account or by any persuasion, give *twenty-five dollars* to be members for life, or even *five* to be so for ten years, as was originally provided. Those few who can afford, in the various and incessant calls on their charity, to give such sums, would probably persuade themselves, (as we have seen in too many instances,) and not without some reason, that they had now done their proportion of the work, dismiss the subject from their thoughts, and with it, perhaps, all the zeal they might have felt in its behalf. But no man will refuse to give *one dollar*, even though he may not have reflected on the scheme for which it is solicited, or having reflected, remain indifferent to its success: and certainly no member of the society, with a proper sense of the goodness and usefulness of the design, would hesitate to ask each of his friends, or acquaintance, for one dollar for its support; although he might be deterred by delicacy from imposing on them a heavier burden. It would also be thus brought within the power of every friend of the scheme, to contribute to it; and no unequal weight will bear upon any.

We hope that as many auxiliaries to this society as possible will be established in every town, village and district in the state, and adopt a similar organization.

A very large sum, it is believed, might be raised each year in every state, by these subscriptions alone; without taking into consideration what we would still continue to receive, in increasing abundance, from private contributions, the charity of religious societies and masonic orders, and legislative appropriations: and the peculiar advantage of this new source of supply will be, that it will not be fluctuating and occasional, soon exhausted, and betraying us into expenses beyond our means; but copious and steady, ever augmenting with population and benevolence, and with the gradual and certain progress of opinion in our favour.

In proportion as the state societies shall be revived or established on this footing, and their numerous little auxiliaries brought into existence and due subordination and dependance, the parent society itself, hitherto feeble and irregular, may receive a more effectual structure. There may be held, each year, in Washington, at some period during the session of the national Congress, a congress or convention of representatives from the state societies and their various branches; each sending such number as the parent society, or the convention itself,

at its first meeting, might determine. Their compensation would be the highest of rewards;—the pleasure and merit of a good act. As the matters to be submitted to their deliberation and decision, would not be of a nature to be easily or wilfully abused, nor of such vital importance to them or their employers, that they might (like political affairs) be liable to be dishonestly conducted, for dangerous or improper purposes, many of the auxiliary societies would, perhaps, often not care to be represented: and as this meeting would be during the session of Congress and the Supreme Court, and at a season when multitudes from every part of the United States have occasion to visit the seat of government, there would be no difficulty, to those who might desire it, in procuring zealous and able representatives, who could serve them without expense or trouble.

This convention would have the power of appropriating all funds collected for the colonization cause. To it would be remitted, or to such persons as it should appoint, all monies obtained in every part of the union, by the state and auxiliary branches of the general society. It would have the power of electing its own officers, and those of the parent society; that is, its president, vice-presidents, treasurer, secretaries, managers, and agents; who would be elected for such terms as might be, from time to time, determined, and be responsible to it for their conduct in office. In fine, it would take special and peculiar charge of **LIBERIA**, and provide for the general welfare of the cause of African colonization.

When each contributor, being represented and having himself a share in the government of the society and distributions of its funds, would feel, of course, more confidence in their being properly managed, there would be created a greater readiness to give. The annual assembly of representatives from every section, state and district, would win to our endeavours the attention and interest of the whole American people. Its public debates, the information it would elicit and extend, the strict accountability it would establish, and the harmonious voice, which it would be, of millions of freemen, would lend a national dignity to our national cause, and insure the faithful application of all the means intended for its promotion.

But the first step to these results, must be the revival and re-organization of the state and auxiliary societies.

The example has been set in Maryland. We earnestly recommend its imitation to our friends throughout this state and the union, and respectfully solicit an interchange of opinions with them on the subject. The names of the officers of such societies as they may form, may be communicated to the secretary of the state society.

CONSTITUTION.

OF MEMBERS.

THE condition of membership shall be the payment of *one dollar* annually, to be made at such time as the board of managers shall appoint.

On the 1st of November each year, or such other day as the managers may prefer, there shall be a general meeting of the members, to be called through the public prints, by the secretary or assistant secretary.

At this meeting shall be elected, by a majority of the members present, a board of forty managers.

At the same time, and in the same manner, there shall be appointed delegates to the next ensuing meeting of the parent society at Washington; of such number as the parent society may determine; or, in case of their not fixing any, as the general meeting of members may think fit.

The general meeting may also alter this Constitution, provided there be present one-third of the members of the society, and a majority of them concur in its alteration.

OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS.

There shall be forty managers, of whom six shall constitute a quorum.

They may fill up such vacancies as shall occur in their body, in the interval of the annual elections.

As soon as convenient after the general meeting of members, they shall assemble for the choice of the following officers:—

1. A President.
2. An indefinite number of Vice-presidents.
3. A Treasurer.
4. A Secretary.
5. An Assistant Secretary.

They may adopt such by-laws as they shall think proper.

It shall be their duty whenever they deem it expedient, to employ, at such rates as may appear reasonable, a collector of

collectors, for obtaining members and collecting the annual contributions or other donations.

They may also appoint committees of suitable persons, from their own body or out of it, permanent or temporary, for such purposes as may seem to demand them.

OF THE PRESIDENT.

The President shall always be selected from among the Vice-presidents.

OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Presidents of the auxiliary state societies shall be ex-officio Vice-presidents of the state society.

OF THE SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall correspond with such persons as the board of managers may wish to communicate officially with; and be the organ of communication from others to them.

He shall keep a register of the names of all the officers of the society, of all members, of their annual subscriptions and donations; and of such other circumstances as the managers may direct.

The same duties shall be performed, under his direction, by the Assistant Secretary.

They shall be ex-officio managers, in addition to the forty.

OF THE TREASURER.

All monies or other articles, collected for the society, shall be paid into the hands of the Treasurer.

He shall receive and keep an account of them, as also of all expenditures; and shall hold them subject, after deducting for necessary expenses, to the order of the board of managers, or, through them, of the parent society at Washington.

He shall be ex-officio a manager, in addition to the forty.

OF THE AGENCY.

Whenever the parent society may think fit, they may appoint a committee, to consist of any number, who shall be called their agency, and be under their control and immediate and sole direction.

The object of the agency is to lend more despatch and efficiency to the operations of the parent society; and their duty

shall be, to procure members, to promote and superintend emigration, to inform the public mind rightly on matters relating to African colonization, and to correspond on those subjects with similar committees, individuals, corporate and public bodies, elsewhere.

But they shall not collect or hold any monies, or other donations in their official capacity; except by express permission of the parent society, or by its order on the treasurer of the state society.

They shall appoint their own chairman and secretary, and make their own by-laws.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

PRESIDENT.

Hon. Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Gen. C. Ridgely, of Hampton,	William Barroll,
Gen. Samuel Smith,	Joseph Kent,
Roger B. Taney,	Joseph E. Muse,
Luke Tiernan,	Thomas James Bullitt,
Dr. James Steuart,	Daniel Martin,
Robert Oliver,	Anthony Banning,
Isaac McKim,	Wm. H. Tilghman,
Col. Maynadier,	J. T. Chase,
Robert H. Goldsborough,	A. C. Magruder,
Charles Goldsborough,	James Bosley,
James H. McCulloh,	James Murray,
Philip E. Thomas,	John Leeds Kerr,
Robert Gilmor,	Daniel Murray,
Hezekiah Niles,	J. J. Speed,
John Grahame,	Samuel Sterett.
Richard T. Earle,	

BOARD OF MANAGERS.

Rev. Dr. Henshaw,	Thomas Ellicott,
Rev. Mr. Nevins,	Dr. Richard Steuart,
Rev. Mr. Waugh,	Nathaniel Williams,
Rev. Mr. Breckenridge,	Richard Gill,
Rev. Dr. Wyatt,	Edward Kemp,
Rev. Dr. Kurtz,	Richard B. Magruder,
Rev. Mr. Hanson,	Upton S. Heath,
Rev. Mr. Finlay,	Charles S. Walsh,
Peter Hoffman,	Francis H. Davidge,
Col. Benjamin C. Howard,	Joseph Cushing,
Gen. Geo. H. Steuart,	J. I. Cohen, jr.
Col. Wm. Steuart,	Dr. P. Macaulay,

Robert Armstrong,
 Col. John Berry,
 Thomas Kelso,
 Thomas Armstrong,
 Wm. Wilkins,
 Hugh McElderry,
 Wm. Gwynn,
 Richard H. Douglas,

Solomon Etting,
 Dr. E. G. Edrington,
 Wm. Bose,
 Fielder Israel,
 Tilghman Brice,
 Edmund Didier,
 Dr. Eli Ayres,
 Wm. R. Adair.

John Hoffman, *Treasurer.*
 Edward J. Coale, *Secretary.*
 James Bryan, *Ass't. Sec'ry.*

AGENCY.

Hon. Judge Brice, *Chairman.*
 John H. B. Latrobe,
 John I. Lloyd,
 Charles Howard,
 Charles C. Harper, *Secretary.*

ADDRESS OF THE COLONISTS

TO THE

FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR

IN THE UNITED STATES.

At a numerous meeting of the citizens of Monrovia, held at the Court-House on the 26th day of August, 1827, for the purpose of considering the expediency of uniting in an address to the coloured people of the United States, JOHN H. FOLKS, in the chair—It was

Resolved, That a committee of four persons be appointed, to frame a circular address to be published in the United States, for the better information of the people of colour in that country respecting the state of this colony, and the condition of the settlers—and that

James C. Barbour and F. Devany, W. L. Weaver, and the Rev. C. M. Waring and George R. McGill, be the committee, to prepare and report the said address, on Tuesday the 4th day of September next.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4th, 1827.

The forenamed committee reported the following address, which was adopted and ordered to be transmitted to the United States, and there published for the information of the coloured people of that country.

Address of the Colonists to the Free People of Colour in the U. States.

As much speculation and uncertainty continue to prevail among the people of colour in the United States, respecting our situation and prospects in Africa; and many misrepresentations have been put in circulation there, of a nature slanderous to us,

and in their effects injurious to *them*; we feel it our duty by a true statement of our circumstances, to endeavour to correct them.

The first consideration which caused our voluntary removal to this country, and the object which we still regard with the deepest concern, is liberty—liberty, in the sober, simple, but complete sense of the word—not a licentious liberty—nor a liberty without government, or which should place us without the restraint of salutary laws. But that liberty of speech, action, and conscience, which distinguishes the free enfranchised citizens of a free state. We did not enjoy that freedom in our native country: and, from causes, which, as respects ourselves, we shall soon forget for ever, we were certain it was not there attainable for ourselves or our children. This, then, being the first object of our pursuit in coming to Africa, is probably the first subject on which you will ask for information. And we must truly declare to you, that our expectations and hopes in this respect, have been realized. Our Constitution secures to us, so far as our condition allows, “all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens of the U. States”: and these rights and these privileges are ours. We are proprietors of the soil we live on; and possess the rights of freeholders. Our suffrages, and, what is of more importance, our sentiments and our opinions have their due weight in the government we live under. Our laws are altogether our own: they grew out of our circumstances; are framed for our exclusive benefit, and administered either by officers of our own appointment, or such as possess our confidence. We have a judiciary, chosen from among ourselves; we serve as jurors in the trial of others; and are liable to be tried only by juries of our fellow-citizens, ourselves. We have all that is meant by *liberty of conscience*. The time and mode of worshipping God, as prescribed us in his word, and dictated by our conscience, we are not only free to follow, but are protected in following.

Forming a community of our own, in the land of our forefathers; having the commerce and soil and resources of the country at our disposal; we know nothing of that debasing inferiority with which our very colour stamped us in America: there is nothing here to create the feeling on our part—nothing to cherish the feeling of superiority in the minds of foreigners who visit us. It is this moral emancipation—this liberation of the mind from worse than iron fetters, that repays us ten thousand times over, for all that it has cost us, and makes us grateful to God and our American patrons for the happy change which has taken place in our situation. We are not so self-complacent as to rest satis-

fied with our improvement, either as regards our minds or our circumstances. We do not expect to remain stationary. Far from it. But we certainly feel ourselves, for the first time, in a state to improve either to any purpose. The burden is gone from our shoulders: we now breathe and move freely; and know not (in surveying your present state) for which to pity you most, the empty name of liberty, which you endeavour to content yourselves with in a country that is not yours; or the delusion which makes you hope for ample privileges in that country hereafter. Tell us; which is the white man, who, with a prudent regard to his own character, can associate with one of you on terms of equality? Ask us, which is the white man who would decline such association with one of our number whose intellectual and moral qualities are not an objection? To both these questions we unhesitatingly make the same answer:—There is no such white man.

We solicit none of you to emigrate to this country—for we know not who among you prefers rational independence, and the honest respect of his fellow-men, to that mental sloth and careless poverty, which you already possess, and your children will inherit after you in America. But if your views and aspirations rise a degree higher—if your minds are not as servile as your present condition—we can decide the question at once; and with confidence say, that you will bless the day, and your children after you, when you determined to become citizens of Liberia.

But we do not hold this language on the blessing of liberty, for the purpose of consoling ourselves for the sacrifice of health, or the suffering of want, in consequence of our removal to Africa. We enjoy health after a few months' residence in the country, as uniformly, and in as perfect a degree, as we possessed that blessing in our native country. And a distressing scarcity of provisions or any of the comforts of life, has for the last two years been entirely unknown, even to the poorest persons in this community. On these points there are, and have been, much misconception, and some malicious misrepresentations in the United States.

We have nearly all suffered from sickness, and of the earliest emigrants, a large proportion fell in the arduous attempt to lay the foundation of the colony. But are they the only persons whose lives have been lost in the cause of human liberty, or sacrificed to the welfare of their fellow men? Several out of every ship's company, have within the last four years been carried off by sickness, caused by the change of climate. And death occasionally takes a victim from our number, without any regard at all to the time of his residence in this country. But we

never hoped by leaving America, to escape the common lot of mortals—the necessity of death, to which the just appointment of Heaven consigns us. But we do expect to live as long, and pass this life with as little sickness as yourselves.

The true character of the African climate is not well understood in other countries. Its habitants are as robust, as healthy, as long lived, to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in this colony; nor can we learn from the natives, that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the continent. But the change from a temperate to a tropical country is a great one—too great not to affect the health more or less—and in the cases of old people and very young children, it often causes death. In the early years of the colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues, and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the hardships and discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness, which prevailed to an alarming extent, and was attended with great mortality. But we look back to those times as to a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten. Our houses and circumstances are now comfortable—and, for the last two or three years, not one person in forty from the middle and southern states, has died from the change of climate. The disastrous fate of the company of settlers who came out from Boston in the brig *Vine* eighteen months ago, is an exception to the common lot of emigrants; and the causes of it ought to be explained. Those people left a cold region in the coldest part of winter, and arrived here in the hottest season of our year. Many of them were too old to have survived long in any country. They most imprudently neglected the prescriptions of our very successful physician, the Rev. Lot Carey, who has great experience and great skill in the fevers of the country—and depended on medicines brought with them, which could not fail to prove injurious. And in consequence of all those unfortunate circumstances, their sufferings were severe; and many died. But we are not apprehensive that a similar calamity will befall any future emigrants, except under similar disadvantages.

People now arriving, have comfortable houses to receive them; will enjoy the regular attendance of a physician in the slight sickness that may await them; will be surrounded and attended by healthy and happy people, who have borne the effects of the climate, who will encourage and fortify them against that despondency, which alone, has carried off several in the first years of the colony.

But you may say, that even health and freedom, as good as they are, are still dearly paid for, when they cost you the common comforts of life, and expose your wives and children to fa-

mine and all the evils of want and poverty. We do not dispute the soundness of this conclusion neither—but we utterly deny that it has any application to the people of Liberia.

Away with all the false notions that are circulating about the barrenness of this country—they are the observations of such ignorant or designing men, as would injure both it and you. A more fertile soil, and a more productive country, so far as it is cultivated, there is not, we believe, on the face of the earth. Its hills and its plains, are covered with a verdure which never fades; the productions of nature keep on in their growth through all the seasons of the year. Even the natives of the country, almost without farming tools, without skill, and with very little labour, make more grain and vegetables than they can consume, and often more than they can sell.

Cattle, swine, fowls, ducks, goats and sheep, thrive without feeding, and require no other care than to keep them from straying. Cotton, coffee, indigo and the sugar-cane, are all the spontaneous growth of our forests; and may be cultivated, at pleasure, to any extent, by such as are disposed. The same may be said of rice, Indian corn, Guinea corn, millet, and too many species of fruits and vegetables to be enumerated. Add to all this, we have no dreary winter here for one half of the year, to consume the productions of the other half. Nature is constantly renewing herself—and constantly pouring her treasures all the year round, into the laps of the industrious. We could say on this subject more, but we are afraid of exciting too highly the hopes of the imprudent. Such persons we think will do well to keep their rented cellars, and earn their twenty-five cents a day, at the wheel-barrow, in the commercial towns of America; and stay where they are. It is only the industrious and virtuous that we can point to independence and plenty, and happiness in this country. Such people are nearly sure to attain, in a very few years, to a style of comfortable living, which they may in vain hope for in the United States. And however short we come of this character ourselves, it is only a due acknowledgment of the bounty of Divine Providence, to say, that we generally enjoy the good things of this life to our entire satisfaction.

Our trade and commerce is chiefly confined to the coast, to the interior parts of the continent, and to foreign vessels. It is already valuable, and fast increasing. It is carried on in the productions of the country—consisting of rice, palm oil, ivory, tortoise shell, dye woods, gold, hides, wax, and a small amount of coffee; and it brings us in return, the products and manufactures of the four quarters of the world. Seldom, indeed, is our harbour clear of European and American shipping; and the

bustle and thronging of our streets, show something, already, of the activity of the smaller seaports of the United States.

Mechanics of nearly every trade are carrying on their various occupations—their wages are high, and a large number would be sure of constant and profitable employment.

Not a child, or youth in the colony, but is provided with an appropriate school. We have a numerous public library and a court-house, meeting-house, school-house and fortifications sufficient, or nearly so, for the colony in its present state.

Our houses are constructed of the same materials, and finished in the same style as in the towns of America. We have abundance of good building stone, shells for lime, and clay of an excellent quality for bricks. Timber is plentiful of various kinds, and fit for all the different purposes of building and fencing.

Truly we have a goodly heritage; and if there is any thing lacking in the character or condition of the people of this colony, it never can be charged to the account of the country: It must be the fruit of our own mismanagement, or slothfulness, or vices. But from these evils we confide in Him, to whom we are indebted for all our blessings, to preserve us. It is the topic of our weekly and daily thanksgiving to Almighty God, both in public and in private, and he knows with what sincerity, that we were ever conducted by his providence to this shore. Such great favours in so short a time, and mixed with so few trials, are to be ascribed to nothing but his special blessing. This we acknowledge. We only want the gratitude which such signal favours call for. Nor are we willing to close this paper without adding a heartfelt testimonial of the deep obligations we owe to our American patrons—and best earthly benefactors; whose wisdom pointed us to this home of our nation; and whose active and persevering benevolence enabled us to reach it. Judge, then, of the feelings with which we hear the motives and the doings of the Colonization Society traduced—and that, too, by men too ignorant to know what that Society has accomplished; too weak to look through its plans and intentions; or too dishonest to acknowledge either. But, without pretending to any prophetic sagacity, we can certainly predict to that Society, the ultimate triumph of their hopes and labours; and disappointment and defeat to all who oppose them. Men may theorize, and speculate about their plans in America, but there can be no speculation here. The cheerful abodes of civilization and happiness which are scattered over this verdant mountain—the flourishing settlements which are spreading around it—the sound of christian instruction, and scenes of christian worship, which are heard and seen in this land of brooding pagan dark-

ness—a thousand contented freemen united in founding a new Christian Empire, happy themselves, and the instruments of happiness to others: every object, every individual, is an argument, is demonstration, of the wisdom and the goodness of the plan of Colonization.

Where is the argument that shall refute facts like these? And where is the man hardy enough to deny them?

FINIS.